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## rites and ceremonies of the COPTIC CHURCH

### PART VIII

(Continued from *E.C.Q.*, Spring 1953.)

**T**HE present article contains a description and a synopsis of the Rite of Initiation into Monasticism and of the Service for the Consecration of a New Church and Altar. [This last will be published later in the year.—EDITOR.]

As regards the Rite of Initiation into Monasticism, the synopsis has been made from the text of *MS. Lit. 4*<sup>1</sup> of the Coptic Museum Library, Old Cairo. This text has been collated with the text of two other *MSS.*, namely, *MS. 323*<sup>2</sup> and *MS. 325*<sup>3</sup> of the Coptic Patriarchal Library, Cairo, as well as with that of R. Tûkhlî's printed text,<sup>4</sup> and all the more important variant readings have been duly recorded.

It will be noticed in the following synopsis of the Rite of Initiation into Monasticism that there are many passages which are enclosed in square brackets. Such passages are not found in *MS. Lit. 4*, and have been supplied from R. Tûkhlî's printed text.

In Egyptian monasticism there are two degrees, that of simple monk and that of advanced monkhood to which, however, only a small minority of monks ever aim or attain. Before being initiated<sup>5</sup> into the first degree, the candidate is

<sup>1</sup> This *MS.* is assigned to the fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> This *MS.* bears a dedication to the Patriarchate dated A.D. 1775, but there is no indication of the date when it was written.

<sup>3</sup> This *MS.* is dated A.M. 1500 = A.D. 1783.

<sup>4</sup> R. Tûkhlî, *Pijôm eferapantohin ejennseukhê ethouab*, Vol. I, Rome, 1761.

<sup>5</sup> This term is used intentionally, since in Eastern Monasticism there is nothing equivalent to the profession of monks and nuns in Western Monasticism.

required to undergo a period of probation which, however, in actual practice does not exceed one year at the most. The candidate, in the case of men, must be at least seventeen years of age, and in the case of women, at least twenty years of age. Men are initiated into monasticism by the hegoumenos (abbot) of the monastery which they wish to join, and women, by the hieromonk who is the father confessor of the convent which they wish to join. Monks and nuns who are noted for their piety and asceticism, may, after a lapse of five years from the date at which they entered monasticism, if they are willing to undertake very strict and advanced ascetic practices, be initiated into the second degree. The principal ceremony of this second degree is the rite of clothing the monk or the nun with the Skhêma (Σκῆμα).<sup>8</sup> This Skhêma consists of four metres of plaited red leather, ten centimetres wide and decorated at regular intervals with crosses of the same material, ten small and two large, and is worn as a girdle. An illustration of a Skhêma is given in Plate LXXX of the *Guide Sommaire du Musée Copte* by Marcus H. Simaika Pasha, Cairo, 1937. The actual dress of monks and nuns consists of a black robe (az-Za'bût), a belt and a cowl. In addition to this nuns wear a black veil (aṭ-Ṭarḥah).

At present, there are seven monasteries in Egypt. In the Western Desert, at the Wādī 'n-Naṭrûn, there are four,<sup>9</sup> namely, Al-Baramûs (*i.e.* of the Romans), As-Suriyân (*i.e.* of the Syrians), Anbâ Bishoi (Pishoi), and Abû Maqâr (Macarius). In the Eastern Desert, near the Red Sea, there are two, namely, Anbâ Anṭûniûs (Antony) and Anbâ Bûlâ (Paul).<sup>10</sup> Near Assiût there is the Monastery al-Muḥarraḳ.<sup>11</sup> In addition to these, there is the Monastery of Anbâ Samwîl (Samuel) Ḳalamûn in the Fayyûm,<sup>12</sup> but it is not actually regarded as a monastery, as it is very poor and without property. It has no hegoumenos, and its eight monks (four resident) depend

<sup>8</sup> Cassian mentions this in his *Inst.* I, 3f.

<sup>9</sup> For a description of these Monasteries, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'n-Naṭrûn*, New York, 1932-3, Vols. II and III.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Guide de l'Égypte Chrétienne* (Société d'Archéologie Copte), Le Caire, 1953, pp. 55-8. For the Monastery of St Antony, cf. H. Romilly Fedden, 'A Study of the Monastery of St Antony in the Eastern Desert' in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, Cairo, 1937, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 1-60.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Guide de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, pp. 65-6.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Guide de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, p. 63; J. Simon, 'Le monastère copte de Samuel de Kalamoun' in *Orientalia Christiana*, per. 1, Rome, 1935, pp. 46-52; J. Smolenski, 'Le couvent copte de Saint-Samuel à Galamoun' in *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, 9, Le Caire, 1908, pp. 204-07.



entirely on the charity of the Faithful. It is extremely difficult to determine the exact number of monks in any of these monasteries, as it often happens that a large proportion of them are temporarily not in residence, some of the monks being occupied with ecclesiastical duties in towns and villages and others following a course of study in a seminary. All that can be said is that the number of monks usually in residence varies between fifteen and thirty according to the importance of the monastery. Nowadays, the hegoumenoi (abbots) of these monasteries are invariably bishops who usually reside in their sees.

As regards the Convents for nuns, there are five and all are situated in Cairo. In Old Cairo there are two, in the Hârat Zuwailah, two, and in the Hârat ar-Rûm, one. The minimum age at which a nun can be made abbess is forty-five.

The only printed text of the Rite of Initiation into Monasticism is that already mentioned of R. Ṭûkhî. For the various studies on this Rite of Initiation the reader is referred to the bibliography given at the end of this article.

The description and synopsis of the Service for the Consecration of a New Church and Altar is according to the work of G. Horner, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite*, London, 1902.

In conclusion, I wish to thank my friend Yassâ 'Abd al-Masîh, Librarian of the Coptic Museum Library, Old Cairo, for collating my transcription of R. Ṭûkhî's text with that of MS. Lit. 4, as well as with the texts of MS. 323 and MS. 325 of the Coptic Patriarchal Library.

Chatby-les-Bains,  
Alexandria.

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

Feast of St Eleutherios, 15th December 1953.

#### MONKS<sup>11</sup>

He who has the desire to become a monk shall remain three years<sup>12</sup> studying the rules of monasticism, and he shall be instructed in the Book of the Paradise of the Fathers clothed

<sup>11</sup> Coptic title (supplied from R. Ṭûkhî): Tiakolouthia entepijinhôsh ennimonakhos. Arabic title: Min Agl Iqâmat ar-Rubbân fi Qismathim. Text: MS. Lit. 4, foll. 11-31v, Coptic Museum, and R. Ṭûkhî, *Pijom eferapantokhtin ejennieukhê eihouab*, Vol. I, pp. 151-76, Rome, 1761.

<sup>12</sup> There is no time limit at present.

with the Cross,<sup>13</sup> and shall be guided unto the true philosophy which is monasticism, and if he be summoned, his head shall be shaved. Then he shall be called, and he shall lie down upon the ground, his head towards the east, and his face being bent towards the ground, and his garments being spread out over him.

[And begin and say: '*Have mercy upon us*,<sup>14</sup> etc.'].<sup>15</sup> Then there is said the Prayer of Thanksgiving,<sup>16</sup> and incense is offered. [They say: '*Kyrie Eleison*' and *chant* the following: 'We worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Holy *Consubstantial Trinity*. Hail to thee, Mary, the fair dove, who hath borne for us God the *Word*'. 'Through the *intercessions* of the Holy *Theotokos*, Mary, Lord, grant unto us the forgiveness of our sins.'<sup>17</sup> 'Through the *intercessions* of the *Archangels*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of the *Angelic Hosts*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of *Saint John the Baptist*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of *Saint Stephen*, the first *martyr*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of *Saint Mercurius*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of our father, Holy Abba Antony, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of *Saint Pachomius*, the *coenobite*, etc.' 'Through the *prayers* of the *Choir* of the *Martyrs*, etc.' 'That we may praise Thee, O our Lord Jesus and Thy Good Father with the Holy Spirit, for Thou hast come (and) saved us.'

The *bishop* or the *begoumenos* says the Prayer of Incense, namely, 'God the great, the eternal, without beginning and without end, etc.'<sup>18</sup> Afterwards, say: '*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Lord bless. Amen. Alleluia. Glory be to the Father, etc. Our Father, etc. Alleluia, Alleluia. Glory to Thee, our God* (thrice), and say *Psalm* l<sup>19</sup> and *Psalm* cxviii. At the end of this *psalm* say the Prayer for the Sick,<sup>20</sup> and afterwards the Hymn of the Angels, namely, 'Let us praise with the Angels, saying: 'Glory

<sup>13</sup> Cf. E. A. T. W. Budge, *The Book of Paradise*, Leipzig, 1904 (Syriac text and English translation), and by the same author *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers*, London, 1907 (English translation only).

<sup>14</sup> A word printed in italics indicates that this word is written in Greek in the Coptic text. For this prayer, cf. *The Book of the Three Anaphora*, Cairo, 1936, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> All passages enclosed in square brackets are added from R. Tûkht, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 392.

<sup>17</sup> The petition 'Lord, grant unto us the forgiveness of our sins' is repeated after each of the clauses which follow.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Chapter and verses of the Old Testament are quoted according to H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1901-12.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 393.

to God in the heights, etc.',<sup>21</sup> up to and including: 'We beseech thee, remember us, O faithful *Protectress*, before our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may forgive us our sins', and (then) there is said this *doxology*: 'Good Lover of man, my Lord Jesus, I beseech Thee, do not set me on the left of Thee with the sinful goats, etc.',<sup>22</sup> (and) join to it this *doxology* of *Saint Abba Antony*: 'Remove from your hearts thoughts of evil and inciting thoughts which darken the mind. Understand carefully the lofty achievements of our blessed father, my lord, the great Abba Antony, etc.'<sup>23</sup> Then for the *Theotokos*: 'Do thou look upon us from the heights in which thou dwellest, my Lady, Mistress of us all, the *Mother of God* who art ever-virgin, etc.',<sup>24</sup> and they say: 'Blessed be the Father, etc.']. One of the priests or a *deacon* chants these *lexis* which follow, in the mourning tone. If it be on a *Sunday* or during the Fifty Days of the *Resurrection*,<sup>25</sup> then, indeed, he chants in the tone of these days, and he shall begin, therefore, saying:<sup>26</sup> 'Alleluia. Psalm xxxiii, 12-16 + Alleluia; Psalm cxviii, 121-28 + Alleluia; Psalm liv, 5-9 + Alleluia. [Then 'Bless me, etc.' *Glory be to the Father*, etc.' 'Now and at all times, etc.' Afterwards, there is said: 'We worship Thee, etc.' The *deacon* chants the *Epistle* in the tone of Holy Week], (it is) *Ephesians* vi, 10-16. [Then follows the *Trisagion*<sup>27</sup> and the *Prayer of the Gospel*],<sup>28</sup> the Psalm-Versicle: *Psalm* xxxi, 1-2 and *Psalm* xxiv, 7 and the *Gospel John* iii, 1-21. [After this there is sung the *Psalm*: 'God the merciful, the *Creator*, to Whom appertaineth great mercy, the Father of light, etc.' The *choir* says the *Response of the Gospel*: 'A Compassionate One is my *Saviour*, He will have compassion on His people, etc.']. Afterwards, the brother who comes to be a *monk* shall, having arisen, stand, and the *begoumenos* says: [the *Prayer of the Peace* and the *Prayer of the Fathers* and the *Prayer of the Congregations*<sup>29</sup> and the *Creed*<sup>30</sup> and] this *prayer*: 'Master, Lord God the *Almighty*, Who dwelleth in the heights,

<sup>21</sup> For the first part of this hymn, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 397, and for the whole of it, cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyat as-Sanawiyat al-Muqaddasah*, Cairo, 1908, pp. 319-30.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyat*, pp. 526-28.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyat*, pp. 376-78.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyat*, pp. 402-03.

<sup>25</sup> i.e. Paschaltide.

<sup>26</sup> From 'One of the priests—saying' found in MSS. Lit. 323 and Lit. 325 of the Coptic Patriarchal Library, Cairo, and also in R. Tūkhī, op. cit.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 397.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 394.

<sup>29</sup> For these prayers, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 398.

etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses: 'Look from Thy prepared dwelling-place upon Thy servant N., who is come unto Thee and who *hopeth*<sup>31</sup> and who starteth upon the *spiritual policy* of *monasticism*, and make straight his way; *bestow* upon him perfect *submission*, and may it be in his *purpose* to turn himself away<sup>32</sup> from the pleasures of *nature*, *that*, in the laying aside of the hair of his head, he may cast away from him *unseemly acts* and may receive unto himself the *help* of grace and the Holy *Spirit*.' Take a pair of scissors, cut the hair of his head in the *form* of the *Cross*. [The people chant in the tone of the *Aspasmos* thus: 'Rejoice and be glad, *generation* of men, for God so loved the *world* that He gave His beloved Son for those who believe in Him, that they may live for ever.'] Clothe the head of the brother with the *hood*;<sup>33</sup> then say the *Prayer* over the Cowl: 'Master, Lord God the *Almighty*, etc.' in which may be noted the clauses, "We pray Thy goodness, Lover of man, *seal* Thy servant with Thy right hand, number him in Thy *heavenly army* . . . *bestow* upon him Thy fear, *that* it may guard him at all times and that he may be sinless, *so that* he may *fight* the good *fight* of *monasticism* and may finish *well* his *course*."<sup>34</sup> [The people: 'Kyrie eleison.'] A Thanksgiving for the Cowl:<sup>35</sup> 'We give thanks unto Thee, Lord God, the *Almighty*, Who according to the multitude of Thy mercies hast delivered Thy servant from the vain *abode* of this *world*, etc.' Another *Prayer*: 'Lord God the *Almighty*, Who hast brought us into being from that which was not, etc.' in which may be noted the clauses, 'Receive unto Thee Thy servant N. who hath fled from the *world* and the *scandals* which are in it, (and) hath fled unto Thee and borne the sweet yoke of Thy Christ . . . give unto him the pledge of the Holy *Spirit* and the *armour* of Thy strength'. [The people: 'Kyrie eleison.'] Seal the garments with the *Cross*, saying: 'In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy *Spirit*, One God. Blessed be God the Father. Amen. Blessed be His *Only-Begotten* Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Blessed be the Holy, Vivifying *Spirit* for

<sup>31</sup> 'And who *hopeth*' found only in Tûkhî, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> 'To turn himself' supplied from the Arabic translation of the Coptic text in MSS. Lit. 323 and Lit. 325, Coptic Patriarchal Library.

<sup>33</sup> The word used is *Ballin* = Pallium. An amice arranged round the head like a hood, cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 593, col. a, no. 9 and also *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 388. For the mode of initiation into monasticism and the monastic dress in early times in Egypt, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *Monasteries of the Wādî 'n Nafrân*, Part II, pp. 191-97.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. II Timothy, iv, 7.

<sup>35</sup> MS. Lit. 4 has here an Arabic rubric, stating: 'Another prayer'.

ever. Amen.' [In this place they say for the *Theotokos*: 'Clothe thyself with joy and gladness; gird thyself with strength, O daughter of Sion, etc.']. Raise him up and clothe him with the *tbórakion*,<sup>36</sup> saying: 'Be clothed with the garment of righteousness, the breastplate of salvation; produce fruit worthy of repentance in Christ Jesus our Lord, etc.' [Here is said: 'God is light Who dwelleth in light with *angels* of light who *sing hymns* unto Him'.] Clothe him with the cowl, saying: 'Be clothed with the cowl of humility and the *helmet* of salvation; produce good fruit in Christ Jesus our Lord, etc.' Gird upon him the leathern girdle, saying: 'Gird thy loins with the complete girdle of God and the strength of *repentance* in Christ Jesus our Lord, etc.' [The people: 'Our Father Who art in the Heavens, etc.' The priest, moreover, says (the Prayer of) Absolution,<sup>37</sup> and they say *Kyrie eleison* forty-one times. After this, the priest says the Blessing.]<sup>38</sup>

#### THE CLOTHING OF MONKS WITH THE GREAT SKHĒMA<sup>39</sup>

The Prayer of Thanksgiving is said and incense is offered with its prayer. [The people say: 'We worship, etc.' as at the beginning],<sup>40</sup> and 'Glory (be to the Father, etc.), 'Our Father, etc.' and Psalm I are said, [and they chant 'Alleluia' in the mourning tone]. After this there is read the Epistle: *Hebrews* xiii, 7-25, and the Psalm-Versicle: *Psalm* xci, 13-14, and the Gospel: *Luke* xii, 32-44.<sup>41</sup> [The Response of the Gospel: 'The possessions of this world will pass away, seek them not, but the salvation of your souls, etc.']. The priest says the Three Prayers for the Peace, for the Fathers, for the Congregations (the Creed; Tûkhî only) and this Prayer over the *Skhēma*:<sup>42</sup> 'Master, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted: 'We pray Thy goodness, Lover of man, look upon

<sup>36</sup> Cf. page 222, note 33.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 396.

<sup>38</sup> In *MS. Lit. 4*, and *MS. Lit. 323* of the Coptic Patriarchal Library this rubric is given as follows: 'If the brother is not going to be clothed with the *Shhēma*, say the two (Prayers) of Absolution of the Son and the Blessing; but if he is going to be clothed with the *Shhēma*, postpone the Absolution and the Blessing until the end'.

<sup>39</sup> Coptic title: *Tiakolouthia entepijnhiōtī empiskhēma enništi entetimetmonakhos ennirōmi*. Arabic title: *Tartīb libās al-Askīm*. Text: *MS. Lit. 4*, foll. 32r-52v, Coptic Museum, and *R. Tûkhî*, op. cit., pp. 176-94.

<sup>40</sup> All passages included in square brackets are added from *Tûkhî*, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup> These lessons are not indicated in *MS. Lit. 4*, but are supplied from *MS. 325*, Coptic Patriarchal Library and from *Tûkhî*, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> This rubric not in *MS. Lit. 4*, but is supplied from *MS. 325*. It is also found in *Tûkhî*, op. cit.

Thy servant N. who hath cast himself before Thy holy glory, bless him, gird him with the precious, invincible *Cross* of Thy Christ and number him with Thy *heavenly army*, in order that by his heed of the scapular he may manifest that he hath forsaken the *world* . . . and give unto him authority that he may trample upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the Enemy . . . Preserve the *lamp* of his works unextinguished and may his *course* be unhindered, and at the appointed time may he be worthy of the holy and perfect garment.' The people say: '*Kyrie (eleison)*.'<sup>43</sup> Then say this prayer over him: 'Lord, God the *Almighty*, Who hast brought us into being from that which was not, etc.' This is the same as the prayer on page 222, but with additions; the following clauses should be noted: after the words 'Thy Christ' there is added 'Through the sign of the *Cross* which is the holy *Skébema*, in order that he may be able to know the wiles of the *Devil* and his wicked snares and that he may preserve the *Skébema pure* (and) undefiled'. [The people say: *Kyrie eleison*, thrice.] Seal the *Skébema* (with the sign of) the *Cross*, saying: 'In the Name of the Father, etc.' as on page 222, but adding at the end 'May the Perfect *Trinity* in One Godhead strengthen and bless and fortify this *soul* unto perfection for ever. Amen.' [The choir chants in the tone of the 'Holy Spirit': 'The *Spirit*, the *Paraclete*, Who came upon the *Apostles* at the feast of *Pentecost*, (and) they spake in many tongues'. The *Paralex*: 'It came to pass when the days of *Pentecost* were accomplished, etc.'<sup>44</sup> Clothe him with the *Skébema*, saying:] 'Be clothed with the *seal* of the pledge of the Kingdom of the Heavens which is the holy *Skébema*. Carry upon thy shoulders the *type* of the precious (and) saving *Cross*. Follow our Lord Jesus Christ, our God in truth, that thou mayest *inherit* the light of life eternal in the strength of the Holy *Trinity*, Father and Son and Holy *Spirit*. Amen.' Clothe him with the cloak<sup>45</sup> and the *tunic* (Χιτὼν), saying: 'Clothe thyself with the holy and divine *raiments* of the *Apostles*, and have thy feet shod with the preparation of the *Gospel*,<sup>46</sup> that thou mayest trample upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the Enemy. Be a fellow-follower of our Lord Jesus Christ to Whom be glory for ever. Amen.' After he has been clothed with the *Skébema*, sign his forehead with *pure* oil which has been blessed by the priest, [saying: 'King of

<sup>43</sup> 'The people . . . (*eleison*)' supplied from MS. 325.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *The Book of the Three Anaphoræ*, pp. 731-33.

<sup>45</sup> The Arabic has here 'burnus'.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Ephesians* vi, 15\*.

peace, give unto us Thy peace, stablish us in Thy peace, forgive us our sins, etc.')] <sup>47</sup> A Prayer of Thanksgiving after the holy *Skbēma*. [The priest:] 'Lord, Jesus Christ, the unutterable Name, Who art a Steersman on the sea, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted, 'Preserve Thy servant N. by this angelic *Skbēma*, cause not that the much-polluted serpent destroy its <sup>48</sup> Apostolic worth, but screen him by Thy right Hand . . . bear him as an offering unto Thy Father through the narrow gate into Thy Royal House'. The deacon: 'Bow your heads unto the Lord'. [The people: 'Before Thee, Lord'. Let the priest lay hands upon him, saying:] <sup>49</sup> Master, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' in which should be noted the following clauses, 'Accomplish a good sign with Thy servant; make him one with those who fear Thee; preserve his life without stain for ever; perfect his purpose; vouchsafe unto him that his course be without swerving'. [The people: 'Our Father, etc.']. Place the glorious Cross on his head and say the Absolution of the Son. Then there is read over him the Exhortation, and after this, say the Blessing.

NUNS<sup>50</sup>

The Prayer of Thanksgiving is said and incense is offered and [Psalm 1 is said and after it] there is read Psalm cxviii. Then there is read the Epistle: I Corinthians vii, 25-34\*, the Psalm-Versicle: Psalm xlii, 15, 16, 14, and the Gospel: Matthew xxv, 1-13. Then he (the priest) says the Three Prayers: the Peace, the Fathers, the Congregations and the Creed. The priest says: 'Master, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'to send upon this Thine handmaiden who hath fled unto Thee, Thy Holy Spirit that He may grant unto her the grace of the promise of virginity and an unsullied policy and a sanctified life and a wise reasoning'. Take a pair of scissors and shear her hair.<sup>51</sup> [Then say this prayer]: 'Master, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' in which may be noted, 'Who hath taught us the virtue of virginity through the Holy Theotokos and Ever-Virgin, Saint Mary; Who was a fellow-worker with Thecla, the martyr, with

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *The Book of the Three Anaphoræ*, pp. 629-30.

<sup>48</sup> The Coptic text has 'the'.

<sup>49</sup> The Arabic for this rubric is: 'The priest says this prayer'.

<sup>50</sup> Coptic title: *Ethbepjinphōsh ennihiomi emmonakhē*. Arabic title: *Qismat ar-Rahbānāt an-Nisā*. Text: *MS. Lit. 4*, foll. 53r-76v, Coptic Museum and R. Tūkhī, op. cit., pp. 194-203.

<sup>51</sup> In *MS. Lit. 4* this rubric is given immediately before the prayer 'Now, also, we beseech and pray Thee, etc.', but in this place in R. Tūkhī, op. cit. and *MS. Lit. 323*, Coptic Patriarchal Library.



regard to the vessels full of fire, that she might quench their flame'.<sup>82</sup> [The deacon says: 'Pray'. The priest says]: 'Now, also, we beseech and pray Thee, Lover of man, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'send forth the grace of Thy Holy Spirit upon this Thine handmaiden, and with blessing bless her, and with purity purify her. Preserve her *promise* unsullied for ever . . . all thoughts which are unclean and filled with impurity disperse from her heart, even as Thou didst disperse them from Thecla who having cut off the hair of her head, walked behind Paul'.<sup>83</sup> And may the cutting off of (her) hair be unto her a sign of mortality.' [A Prayer over the Cowl.] The priest says this prayer: 'Master, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' This is the same as the prayer on page 222 substituting 'Thine handmaiden' for 'Thy servant' and 'her' for 'him'. [A Prayer of Thanksgiving for the Cowl.] The priest says this prayer: 'We give thanks unto Thee, Lord, God the Almighty, etc.' This, with slight variations, is the same as the prayer on page 222 substituting 'Thine handmaiden' for 'Thy servant' and 'her' for 'him'. [Let her arise, and *sign* her garments with the (sign of the) Cross.] He (the priest) places the Cross on her head and says: 'Blessed be God the Father, etc.' as on page 223. Clothe her and say:<sup>84</sup> 'Be clothed with the garment of righteousness, etc.' as on page 223. [Clothe her with the Cowl, saying: 'Be clothed with the Cowl of humility, etc.' as on page 223. Gird upon her the leathern girdle, saying]: 'Gird thy loins with the complete girdle of God, etc.' as on page 223.

If the sister who has been made a nun is not going to be clothed with the Skhêma, say the Absolution of the Son and the Blessing here. If she is going to be clothed with the Skhêma, place the Absolution and the Blessing at the end, and begin the Prayer over the Skhêma.

#### THE SERVICE OF THE SKHÊMA FOR NUNS<sup>85</sup>

The (Prayer of) Thanksgiving is said and incense is offered. [Then say 'Glory be to the Father, etc.' and 'Our Father Who art in the heavens, etc.' and Psalm 1 with the Alleluia in the

<sup>82</sup> In the Acts of Paul and Thecla given by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1926, there is mention of a pyre that was miraculously quenched by a shower of rain, but not vessels full of fire.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>84</sup> R. Tûkht, *op. cit.*, gives this rubric as follows: 'Clothe her with the *thorakion*, saying'.

<sup>85</sup> Coptic title: Tiakolouthia empiskhêma entenimonakhê. Arabic title: Tartib Libâs al-Askîm. Text: MS. Lit. 4, foll. 77r-91r, Coptic Museum and R. Tûkht, *op. cit.*, 204-20.



mourning tone, as on the days of the *Fast*. Epistle: *II Corinthians* x, 1-18. Then say the *Trisagion* and the *Prayer* of the *Gospel* and Psalm-Versicle: *Psalm* lx, 3\*-4, 6. The *Gospel*: *Luke* xiv, 25-35.] The priest says this prayer over the *Skebma* of the *Nuns*: 'Master, Lord, God the *Almighty*, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted, 'We pray Thee, Lover of man, for Thine handmaiden N. who stands before Thee. Send forth upon her the grace of Thy Holy *Spirit*, and strengthen her against all the *workings* of the *Devil*, the *Adversary* . . . preserve the *lamp* of her *virginity* unextinguished for ever, so that she may be prepared to meet the True Bridegroom of Heaven, Christ.' [Let her arise, *sign* the garments with (the sign of) the *Cross*, saying: 'Blessed be God the Father, etc.' as on page 222. Clothe her with the *tbórakion*, saying: 'Be clothed with the garment of righteousness, etc.' as on page 223. Clothe her with the *Cowl*, saying: 'Be clothed with the *Cowl* of humility, etc.' as on page 223. Clothe her with the *Skebma*, saying: 'Be clothed with the *Seal* of the pledge of the Kingdom of the Heavens, etc.' as on page 224. Gird upon her the leathern *girdle*, saying: 'Gird thy loins with the complete girdle of God, etc. as on page 223. A *Prayer* of Thanksgiving after the *Skebma* for *virgins*]:<sup>44</sup> 'We give thanks unto Thee, our Master, our *Saviour*, Lover of man, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted, 'that we may the more, our God, give thanks unto Thee, the *Good One*, because Thou hast caused Thine handmaiden to be worthy to walk in Thy footsteps and to take on the yoke of *virginity* and to give herself unto the toils of *continence* of her own will'. [A *Prayer* of Laying-on of hands after the *Skebma* for *virgins*. The *deacon* says: 'Bow your heads unto the Lord'. The *people* say: 'Before Thee, Lord'.] The priest says this prayer: 'God Who art holy and Who resteth among the *Saints*, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted, 'We pray Thee, Lover of man, look forth from heaven with mild countenance upon Thine handmaiden who hath inclined her head unto Thee. Bless her, purify her and confirm Thy *peace* and Thy *love* in her heart.' [Anoint her forehead with *pure oil* which the priest has blessed.] The priest says this prayer: 'Master, Lord, God the *Almighty*, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted, 'Who from the beginning blessed the horn of oil and didst anoint, according to a *type*, kings and prophets and *highpriests* . . . we pray Thee, Lover of man, send forth Thy Holy *Spirit* upon this oil, the *Spirit* of Thy grace, the *Spirit* of Thy blessing, and bless it with all

<sup>44</sup> This prayer in *MS. Lit.* 4 comes after the prayer of Absolution, where it is prefixed by the rubric: 'The priest says this prayer'.

*spiritual blessings, so that it may be unto Thine handmaiden a holy anointing, an anointing of purity and incorruption, an anointing of the pledge of the Kingdom of the Heavens*.<sup>87</sup> [The people say: 'Our Father, etc.' and the priest says the Absolution. An Exhortation is read over her who has received the *Skéma*. The people say: 'Kyrie eleison' forty-one times. Afterwards, the choir sings this *doxology* of our father Antony to the air of Adam: 'Thy name hath been magnified, great Abba Antony; it hath become illuminating in all the land of Egypt, etc.' Then the sisters kiss her head, and the priest says the blessing, and he begins the liturgy.]

AN ABBESS<sup>88</sup>

Prayer: 'Master, our *Saviour*, the Benefactor and Lover of man, etc.' in which may be noted the clause, 'Who hast redeemed us from death and hast sanctified the body of our humility (that it may be) conformed to the body of Thy holy glory'.<sup>89</sup> [The deacon says: 'Pray'. The priest:]<sup>90</sup> 'We beseech and pray Thee, Lover of man, stretch forth at all times Thine invisible Hand upon Thine handmaiden, the virgin and great abbess, and bless her through Thy Name, and in blessing bless her virginity, etc.' Then is said *Psalm* xlv, 2-18. Then is said this prayer of Thanksgiving: 'We give thanks unto Thee, Master, the *Almighty*, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'and Thou hast poured forth Thy rich gift upon this Thine handmaiden . . . and consent unto the laying-on of hands (*Xeipotovle*) of an Abbess which hath taken place on this Thine handmaiden through the descent upon her of Thy Holy Spirit, and establish the calling of her election in the purity and grace of Thy goodness'. Then an Exhortation is read over the Abbess which resembles closely *mutatis mutandis* the Exhortation which is read over monks who have been clothed with the *Skéma*.

A HERMIT<sup>91</sup>

Prayer: 'Master, Lord, God the *Almighty*, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'look forth, our Master,

<sup>87</sup> Note the epiclesis in this prayer.

<sup>88</sup> Coptic title: Oueukhé ejentinishti en Amma entenimonakhé. Arabic title: Šalāt 'alā ar-Rāṣah allatī 'alā Dair an-Nisā. Text: MS. Lit. 4, foll. 91v-99v, Coptic Museum and R. Ṭūkhī, op. cit., pp. 221-5.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Philippians* iii, 21\*.

<sup>90</sup> Rubric from Ṭūkhī, op. cit. and MS. Lit. 323, Coptic Patriarchal Library.

<sup>91</sup> Coptic title: Oueukhé ejenpiklētōs. Arabic title: Šalāt tuqāl 'alā al-Ḥabīs. Text: MS. Lit. 253, foll. 71r-72r, Coptic Museum and R. Ṭūkhī, op. cit., pp. 226-8.

upon Thy servant who hath given his heart unto *repentance* and hath borne his *Cross* (and) hath followed Thee with all his heart . . . *but* give to him the *seal* of salvation and purity and *continence* and *patience* and self-restraint, *in order that* he may be *blessed* (and) *perfect*, and that he may serve Thee in *righteousness* and truth all the days of his life'. A (Prayer) of Thanksgiving for a *Hermit*: 'We give thanks unto Thee, Lord, God the *Almighty*, Who, through Thy manifold mercy hast delivered Thy servant from the evil (and) vain *abode* of this *world*, and hast called him unto this *solemn life*, etc.' After this, they celebrate the liturgy, and when it is finished, the bishop reads over him (the Hermit) the Prayer of the Dead. Then he (the Hermit) goes up (to his cave) by a rope. Then the priests chant *Psalm* cxlviii and the two other *Psalms* (i.e. *Psalm* cxlix and cl), and the bishop says the blessing and the second dismissal,<sup>62</sup> and he (the Hermit) lifts up the rope with him, and (the bishop says) the Peace.<sup>63</sup>

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## (Additions)

## (Rite of Initiation into Monasticism)

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- A. Rücker, 'Der ritus der bekleidung mit dem ledernen mönchsschema bei den Syern' in *Oriens christianus*, n.s. 4, 1915, pp. 219-37. (Syriac text and comparison with the Coptic rite.)
- L. Villecourt, 'Le rite copte de la profession monacale pour les religieuses' in *Bessarione*, Rome, 1909, 26, pp. 35-49, 309-47.

<sup>62</sup> For the text of the second dismissal, cf. *The Book of the Three Anaphoræ*, p. 92.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. 'Peace be to all'. This service for Hermits is no longer in use, but has been included as a proof that hermits once had a recognized rank in the Coptic ecclesiastical hierarchy.

# YUGOSLAV MEDIEVAL FRESCOES ARTS COUNCIL EXHIBITION OF REPLICAS AT THE TATE GALLERY,

OCTOBER 23RD—DECEMBER 13TH, 1953

**T**HE Director of the Museum of Frescoes, Belgrade, and the Yugoslav governmental Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations are responsible for selecting and making available this fine exhibition of superbly copied frescoes, and there is much cause for gratitude. There is all the loss and gain of such an exhibition: gain in being able to see without travel, and in closer detail than is possible at a distance in a dark, interior; loss in having fragments torn from their setting, their hierarchical and architectural building-up into a great whole which only *as a whole* was the complete work of art. None the less, and even apart from the difficulty in getting to see all these originals in a distant and not very accessible terrain, such collections of copies, especially with the modern technical skill in copying, serve a most useful purpose for detailed and comparative study.

This exhibition covers the whole territory of modern Yugoslavia from Macedonia to Croatia and Slovenia, and a period from the eleventh century in the former to the fifteenth in the latter. The few paintings from these northern districts are of a naïve, South German, late Gothic type and bear no sort of comparison with the great decorative schemes of the Serbian and Macedonian churches. During the last thirty years of rediscovery and restoration, these Serbian and Macedonian churches have become famous for the most vital Byzantine painting of the thirteenth and fourteenth century extant, or indeed anywhere produced at the time. Uncovering from Turkish whitewash and paint is still going on, and a museum of copies has been made in Belgrade on similar lines to the Musée des Monuments Français in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris.

Our first illustration is the earliest painting by a hundred years of those in the exhibition. It shows one of the angels from the great frieze of angels in the church of St Sophia in Ochrid (or Ohrid) and dates from about 1158. This church was converted into a mosque and covered with layers of whitewash which are still being removed and revealing paintings ranging from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. These angels belong to a fine tradition with no provincialism. The exhibition then carries us through the famous paintings of Nerezi (church



The Baptism of the Child from a Nativity, c. 1258-65. Church of the Sopacani Monastery

*by Courtesy of Arts Council*



Frieze of Angels, c. 1058. Church of St Sophia at Ohrid

*by Courtesy of Arts Council*

built 1164) and Mileseva (c. 1236), including one or two examples from St George at Ras (1168), and Studenica (1208 and 1233-4) on the way, to Sopacani (1258-65) which undoubtedly steals the exhibition with its great series of replicas. But the Mileseva paintings, too, are exceedingly interesting. They are in the developing Byzantine tradition, often with immense dignity (Christ and the Donor—surely rather the Blessed Virgin in prayer to Christ as in the Deîsis?—the Angel of the Resurrection), but often, too with strong emotion (the Deposition). Their colours are very reminiscent of Byzantine MSS. They have the same subtle range, the predominance of purple, the avoidance of primary and rather harsh reds and greens, that persists until the last decades of the thirteenth century. Then the reds and greens that one associates with the limited palate of the pre-Memlinic Flemish primitives suddenly appear and predominate, changing the entire tonality. But the Mileseva colour is still in the most classical of Byzantine traditions, and the grouping and composition is often classical, too. I noted particularly numbers 11 and 14, the Kiss of Judas, and the left-hand Group of Apostles from a Death of the Virgin. The latter, particularly, is reminiscent of the classical ivory Diptychs of the early Christian period. It is tremendously satisfying and satisfactory in a highly civilized way.

Sopacani breaks new ground. There is more naturalism and more movement. Backgrounds lose their gold and may become landscape, and figures develop an idyllic, pastoral charm (something not alien to a Greek or Rococco world, though so different in many ways from either). This is true of the Nativity, particularly the girl pouring water here reproduced and the quite lovely, original and touching group on the other side of the painting of a young shepherd (Hermes, the Good Shepherd) pointing upwards with one hand to the star and with the other embracing an old, bent and half-blind shepherd. The figures are all set on a tawny hill-side. At the other extreme is the huge Death of the Virgin which takes up the whole end wall of the gallery, with its mass of figures and background buildings and vigorous whirling patterns. It may be noted that the apochryphal tradition of the apostles brought to the death-bed on clouds, in this case by attendant angels, an Alexandrian version of which was translated in the *E.C.Q.* number on the Assumption,<sup>1</sup> here finds its

<sup>1</sup> No. 2, Vol. IX Summer 1951. 'The Assumption in Liturgy of Church of Alexandria'.

iconographical counterpart. The whirling pattern is continued in the sky by the arrival of these self-propelled clouds and their burdens.

Another lively picture from this Sopacani series is the Descent into Hell which is effective and iconographically interesting. The devils are shown as naked black men. Christ stands triumphant on the back of Satan himself, a blueish-black old man with a beard, crouched and bound, while angels chase other devils, and the gates of hell are very literally portrayed crashing downwards in the centre.

The Sopacani Crucifixion is also very beautiful and moving, especially the lovely group of Mary, St John and the women mourning. The Angel of the Annunciation and the Incredulity of St Thomas are also excellent.

After Sopacani, however, though activity multiplied under great Serbian kings, and later also nobles, who built monasteries, the quality began to decline. Colour became cruder, the art more purely illustrative, until finally it deteriorated into ranks of framed pictures, without architectural relevance, following the same road as frescoes in our Western churches. But this was not a sudden decline, and there is much throughout and particularly in the earlier part of this period, of beauty and interest, especially some of the minor figures in big compositions for whom tradition did not dictate a type—the types where losing their inner vitality. How very untrue to type, either classical or Byzantine, some of these profiles are, particularly the profiles, when the traditional threequarter face was abandoned. Then the growth of portraiture of donors in the church itself—the Byzantinized Serbian kings and their families, and also donors among the nobility—is also a feature of much interest among these paintings of the fourteenth century.

E. J. B. FRY.

The catalogue of the exhibition contains sixteen excellent plates, and readers of the *E.C.Q.* will have seen further illustrations of paintings from these churches, none of them in this exhibition, however, accompanying an article of my own on the subject in January 1944. There are also in the number on the Assumption (vid. above) six illustrations of Serbian paintings.



## PATRISTIC FOUNDATIONS OF KHOMYAKOV'S THEOLOGY

[The following article was read by Dr Bolshakoff, an Orthodox, at the First International Conference of Patristic Studies, held at Oxford in 1951. It has a distinct bearing on the theme of the articles by Fr Dejaifve which we published last year. In 1946 Dr Bolshakoff published his *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church in the Works of Khomyakov and Moebler*, and he calls the present article a postscript to that work. It should however be said that, though Khomyakov's teaching has influenced modern Russian religious thought, it is by no means the only or even the normal teaching of Orthodox theologians about the Church. The late Archbishop Germanos, in a letter to the author published in the above-mentioned book, writes: 'Nobody can deny the devotion of Kohmyakov to the Orthodox Church, but his ecclesiology lacks clearness and exactness. It can lead sometimes to perilous conclusions from an Orthodox point of view. It happened, for instance, with Khomyakov's opinion about infallibility as belonging to the congregation as a whole. I am sure that Khomyakov misunderstood what was said in the synodal eucyclical of the Orthodox patriarchs in 1848 about the faithful being the defenders of the dogma.'

On this point we may quote from a paper by Dr George Florovsky on *Sobornost*: 'The conviction of the Orthodox Church that the "guardian" of tradition and piety is the whole people, i.e. the Body of Christ, in no wise lessens or limits the power of teaching given to the hierarchy' (*The Church of God*, p. 71). This may suffice to situate Dr Bolshakoff's paper in its context of Orthodox opinion.—THE EDITOR.]

ALEXIS KHOMYAKOV (1804-60), an eminent Russian religious thinker, elaborated a very original doctrine of the Church and its unity. This doctrine has greatly influenced many modern Russian theologians and religious thinkers, including the Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitzky, Fr Sergius Bulgakov and N. Berdyaev. This doctrine can be summarized in a few lines. The Church is a living organism of truth and love. The Church is one because God is one. It is a unity of Divine grace dwelling in a multitude of rational creatures, who submit themselves to grace. The Church is a free unity and none can be forced into it. This unity, complete, doctrinal and sacramental, may be attained

only through loyalty to the truth and mutual love. The Holy Ghost dwells in the Church, which is for ever infallible. None is holy but the Universal Church itself. Consequently, only the Church is infallible. Infallibility and holiness are inseparable. No particular Church and no bishop may presume to dictate the faith to the whole Church without sinking into pride and falling away. The right understanding of religious truth is given only to those who live a holy life. This understanding does not belong to an office, as is taught in the Roman Church, nor to correct scholarship, as is often implied in Protestantism.

Ever since 1845, when Khomyakov published in Paris and in French, his first theological treatise *The Church is One*, there has been a controversy over the sources of his teaching. The Roman Catholic critics of Khomyakov generally believe that his theology was inspired by a number of Protestant religious thinkers. M. Gordillo in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, ed. by A. Vacant E. Mangenot (Vol. XIV, col. 361), suggested that Khomyakov constructed his doctrine on the teaching of Schelling, Cousin and Charles Secretan. Vladimir Soloviev mentioned in his book, *L'Idée Russe* (Paris, 1888, p. 325), that Bordas-Demoulin inspired Khomyakov. The celebrated Swiss Calvinist preacher, Alexandre Vinet, was also often suggested as an inspirer of Khomyakov merely because the latter admired him. We know that Khomyakov read the works of all these people but his concept of Christianity is very different from theirs.

Finally, Vl. Soloviev suggested that Khomyakov did not say anything new but merely repeated in the East what Johann Adam Moehler (1796-1839), a German Catholic theologian and patristic scholar, author of *Die Einheit in der Kirche* (1825), *Athanasius der Grosse* (1827) and *Symbolic* (1832), said in the West. Khomyakov certainly read Moehler as he himself admits (N. Kolyupanov *Biografia A. J. Kosheleva*, Moscow, 1889, Appendix to Vol. I, pp. 101-03). Moreover, Khomyakov often used expressions similar to those of Moehler. Nevertheless, he was not an imitator of the latter. Khomyakov differed from Moehler profoundly not only on the concept of authority in the Church but also on the doctrinal development of the latter. Khomyakov conceived the Church not as an authority but as a self-evident truth. The inner certitude that the teaching of Christ and the Church is true is quite enough. Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils become dogmatic truth only when the Church, as a whole, accepts them. Moehler,

on the other hand, held that the dogmatic decrees of the episcopate (united with the general head and centre) are infallible (*Symb.* London, 1843, pp. 77-8). Khomyakov rejected Mochler's and Newman's ideas about the gradual growth to perfection and the logical development of the Church. He believed that the truth of the faith is known to the Church fully and perfectly because the Spirit of God lives therein.

We know that Khomyakov, being at once a scholar, scientist and theologian as well as a wealthy man, possessed a large library. Unfortunately, we have not got its catalogue. Again Khomyakov never gave his authorities in his writings as A. Hilferding, who edited his voluminous *Annals of World History*, regretfully admits. Still we can learn a good deal about his sources if we carefully examine his writings. The study of his *Annals* and other treatises shows that he read many Fathers of the Church, including St Basil, St John Chrysostom, St Athanasius and St Cyril of Jerusalem. We know that Khomyakov studied Cyril in the library of Holy Trinity Lavra, where his treatises were to be found in the Slavonic text (1772), as well as in Russian (1822). Khomyakov quoted Barsanuphius in one of his letters to Aksakov. N. P. Barsov, professor of St Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, asserted that Khomyakov made a profound and serious study of several Fathers of the Church, particularly St Macarius the Great, Abbot Dositheus, Isaac the Syrian, St John Climacus and St Isidore Pelusium, who explained in their treatises the doctrine of interior prayer.

The same Barsov wrote in *Khristianskoe Chtenie*: 'Khomyakov studied Orthodox doctrine in the original—in the Holy Scriptures and patristic writings. According to our opinion he studied it so deeply, completely and wholly that every professional theologian should thank God for it . . . Anyone who has studied the writings of Khomyakov side by side with the works of St Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and that of Nyssa, must be convinced that I am right. The student could not but be astonished at the extraordinary similarity between them in spirit and form of speech, in construction of thought, in the manner of stating questions and in the methods of their solution. Khomyakov's very boldness in stating problems of Christian dogma and in finding original solutions for them is a truly patristic feature' (*A. S. Khomyakov* by Prof. V. Z. Zavitnevich, Vol. I, pp. 39-41). I myself have studied a number of Khomyakov's pronounce-

ments in this aspect. His doctrine of the Holy Ghost derives from that of St Athanasius (Creed and 'Holy Questions', Vol. II, p. 43) and of St Gregory of Nazianzus (Homily V 'of Divinity and of the Holy Ghost'). He based his teaching on baptism on St Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. Lect. XIII, 38), on Holy Communion on St John Damascene I, 4, cap. XIII, 7), on the invocation of Saints on Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. Myst. V, c. 9), on relics on St John Damascene (Theol. Cil. IV, cap. XV, 3, 4), on prayer for the dead again on Cyril of Jerusalem (Lect. Myst. V, 9) etc.

We can judge something more about Khomyakov's patristic reading from his correspondence with the Rev. W. Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and with a well-known Russian Slavophile philosopher, Ivan Kyreevsky (1806-56). The latter greatly influenced Khomyakov. Kyreevsky believed that all the troubles and discords of modern Europe are due to the fact that since the age of schoolmen it has been dominated by rationalism, which split Western Christendom and produced Protestantism and the French Revolution. Russia has so far escaped the same fate because it is a single spiritual unity based on the conception of life and the universe as expressed in the writings of the Eastern Fathers. The latter did not care so much about the external connection between notions as about the right interior disposition of the thinking subject. The understanding of truth belongs to holiness. True culture must be, in its source, patristic, monastic, spiritual, not intellectual. Kyreevsky possessed a fine library, which included the writings of several Eastern Fathers and mystics. Moreover, Kyreevsky, who largely guided Khomyakov's patristic reading, was also a close friend to the celebrated Starets Macarius, of Optino monastery. Kyreevsky co-operated with Optino in the publication of several patristic treatises, including those of Barsanuphius, Simeon the New Theologian, Theodore Studite and Maximus the Confessor.

Reading recently in the Bodleian library in Oxford (in connection with some research work) I found something which greatly surprised me. The Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1530-84) was indeed a monster of cruelty and depravity, but he was also an accomplished statesman and no mean scholar. He had read widely the works of several of the Eastern Fathers, which were numerous in the Imperial library. In his discussions with the learned Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, held at the Kremlin in 1582, Ivan stressed the same view of the Church

as Khomyakov did 250 years later. The tsar stressed the need of holiness for the understanding of truth. 'If the pope', the tsar said, 'lives according to Christ's teaching and Apostolic tradition he is a true pope and heir of the apostles, if he does not he is a wolf and not a shepherd' (A. de Starczewski, *Historia Ruthenica Scriptores Exteri*, Berlin, St Petersburg, 1841-2, Vol. II, 308-16). The tsar voiced the same objection to the Roman theory of authority as Khomyakov. The understanding of truth belongs to holiness and to the Church as such but not to an office. The whole teaching of Khomyakov is here. Everything else are implications. Ivan lived long before Schelling, Cousin, Vinet, Secretan or Mochler. He knew nothing about schoolmen or Protestant divines. His theology is based entirely on the Eastern Fathers, and Khomyakov's theology is likewise there based. In any case the controversies started by Khomyakov led to the return of Russian theologians to the Fathers. Since Peter the Great, Russian theological schools had been dominated by Ukrainian divines brought up on schoolmen. Khomyakov broke the spell by his criticism of the schoolmen and his appeal to the Fathers.

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## ON DR MASCALL'S 'CORPUS CHRISTI'

**C**OLLECTIONS of essays are often regarded with a certain suspicion, and although Dr E. L. Mascall is not likely to be suspected of 'book making' it seems fitting to begin by recognizing that his new book is a substantial one. Of its nine chapters all except the first two (of which something will be said at the end) are concerned specifically with the Eucharist.

The first of these (Chapter Three) deals with the Eucharistic Canon and is professedly a popularization. In describing the primitive Eucharist Dr Mascall draws largely on Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*. He then turns to the theme on which modern liturgical scholars have been so usefully insisting, that the Canon is a thanksgiving which is at the same time a blessing and a consecrating: the introduction of a narrative describing the Last Supper is most natural, but (he holds) it is no part of what Christ commanded us to do for his *anamnesis*. In this connection Dr Mascall refers to the Rubric in the Sarum Missal at the words 'gave thanks to thee,

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on the Church and the Eucharist*. Pp. xii + 188 (Longmans) 15s.

blessed, brake' just before the consecration of the host: *Here let him touch the host but not so as to break it, as some do; for although the order of the words seems to imply that Christ brake before consecrating, tradition teaches the contrary*—Dr Mascall comments that for the writer of the rubric 'the blessing of the bread means the recital of the "words of consecration", words which, in the Biblical narratives, accompany not the blessing of the bread, but its distribution . . . for him, the fact that, in the narrative, the mention of the fraction precedes the mention of the words of institution is in effect a statement that at the Last Supper the fraction itself preceded the consecration . . . It never occurred to him that the order of the words implies nothing of the sort' (pp. 64-5).

This naturally leads to a discussion of 'the moment of consecration', in which Dr Mascall insists, very properly, that there must be such a moment. 'It is simply inconceivable that the bread becomes the outward sign of Christ's body by a gradual process, so that at one moment it is more the outward sign of the body than it was shortly before. It might, of course, be argued that we have no means of *knowing* at what moment the change takes place . . .' (p. 74). Dr Mascall now admits the possibility that at the Last Supper each of the elements 'only became the body or blood of Christ when he uttered the mysterious words at the distribution' and not, as he has previously given us to understand, 'while he was reciting over it the formula of blessing'. And he goes on to say that, *as regards the Mass*:

It seems to be clear that, in the West at least, the Church was so conscious of the fact that it was these words and these words alone that differentiated the Last Supper from any other solemn Jewish meal, that, when, in the way which we have already seen, the narrative of the Last Supper became encapsulated in the Eucharistic Canon, they were taken not only as describing but effecting the change in the elements. This represents, no doubt, a departure from the primordial rite . . . It is perhaps not altogether impious to suggest that the ascended Lord may have been ready to endorse such action taken by his Church . . . It seems at any rate easier to associate the change in the elements with the words by which Christ himself declared their true significance than, as has come to be the practice in the Eastern Church, with words of purely ecclesiastical origin (p. 75).

The chapter ends with some trenchant remarks about liturgical reform from which one might quote at length. I must content

myself with the following: 'At all costs we must avoid the tempting short cut which assumes that you can revive the apprehension of a forgotten truth simply by prohibiting or abandoning something else' (p. 76).

The fourth chapter, on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, I shall touch on only very briefly, although it forms, together with the third, the core of the book, for it makes extensive use of *The Christian Sacrifice*, my translation of Canon Masure's *Le Sacrifice du Chef*, and of articles which appeared in connection with it in *The Downside Review*, and I have little to do but record my great satisfaction. There are only a few suggestions which I would make. It might perhaps be made clearer that Masure takes over a great deal from de la Taille, for example the metaphysics of 'the return to God'. On the other hand, Abbot Vonier's view of what he calls 'the sacramental world' may not be so close to Masure's as Dr Mascall thinks. And the repeated assertion that the 'destructionist' view of sacrifice goes back to the Middle Ages seems to call for some substantiation. Dr Mascall's feeling is that Masure 'has opened up an approach which, if its importance were realized, might do much to loosen the deadlock in Eucharistic theology which has prevented constructive discussion between Catholics and Protestants for over four centuries' (p. 103).

The chapter which follows on the Eucharistic Presence is particularly interesting in its insistence on the unity of body and soul. Dr Mascall points out that the words of administration used by Anglicans refer to the *body and soul* of the communicant and that this is an improvement on the corresponding words of the Roman rite. But it is the sixth chapter, on the Eucharistic theology of St Thomas, which contains the most interesting passage about the Eucharistic Presence itself:

It is not, I suggest, an adequate description of the consecrated elements to say simply that the accidents of bread and wine continue to exist by divine power though the substance of bread and wine is no longer there, while the substance of the Body and of the Blood are there although by divine power their accidents are not manifested. We must add that the substance of the Body and of the Blood are there under the appearance of bread and wine because God has ordained that the bread and wine shall no longer have the status of substance but shall be the sacramental signs of the Body and the Blood . . . the bread and the wine are thus not destroyed by ceasing to have the status of substance nor has anything been withdrawn from them (p. 135).



I have the greatest sympathy with Dr Mascall's difficulty here. What he suggests, I take it, is that the bread and wine, although ceasing to have the *status* of substance, do not lose the power to support accidents and receive a higher status, that of being 'sacramental signs', in exchange. The lack of a human personality corresponding to our Lord's human nature would be, in that case, a parallel. This idea appears in a condemned proposition of Bayma's. It might conceivably be argued that the proposition was condemned for a different reason, but it would be very difficult, to say the least, to square such a view with the traditional teaching. Reputable theologians point out that the Council of Trent speaks of *appearances* instead of accidents, and that there is no contradiction in supposing a disappearance of the *whole* reality of the bread and the wine and a production through God's power of the appearances which they offered us. For a justification of 'total conversion', which Anglicans tend to regard as a Eucharistic monophysitism, Scheeben's *Die mysterien des Christentums* may be usefully consulted, especially on its symbolic significance (p. 500 in the English translation).

After this a chapter on the Eucharistic theology of Charles Gore may strike some readers as likely to prove an anti-climax. But I think Dr Mascall makes out his case for saying that Gore's *The Body of Christ* 'has fallen into undeserved neglect'. The Bishop's theory of the Eucharistic Presence, as Dr Mascall clearly shows, was based on his 'quasi-Kantian idealism' and was receptionist by implication ('It is little short of astounding that Gore, having rejected transubstantiation on the ground, among others, that it was the result of the introduction into Christian theology of a contemporary metaphysical theory, should avowedly base his own doctrine of the presence upon the metaphysical theory which was characteristic of his own time', p. 154). But he vigorously denied, as against certain Anglicans, 'that it is the dead Christ who is presented to us' in the Eucharist, and he had no use for the 'sacrifice-destruction' theory (he remarked, Dr Mascall points out, that the symbolism of the separate consecrations is not an ancient idea, but he did not reject it out of hand as Dr Mascall himself seems to do on p. 106).

Finally, Dr Mascall undertakes a balanced defence of 'Private Masses' and of Benediction. I have no criticisms to offer of these admirably argued pages, in which pastoral zeal is combined with dispassionate theological criticism, except that Dr Mascall does not perhaps realize how much support there



is for 'sacramental concelebration' (*La Maison Dieu* 35, which is devoted to the subject, points out that nowadays diocesan priests sometimes concelebrate with their bishop, each being allowed to accept a stipend); it sounds rather odd to say that 'private masses, quite apart from any other value that they may have, emphasize, as perhaps nothing else can, the fact that the unity and corporateness of the mass are made not by men but by God' (p. 166). In connection with Benediction Dr Mascall makes the excellent point that the use of aumbries instead of tabernacles encourages aliturgical devotion of a most undesirable kind.

But we have now to turn to the opening chapters. The second, on the Church and the Sacraments, was read at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1948 and confines itself, naturally, to generalities. It is the first chapter, on the unity of the Church, which demands our attention, for it strikes a jarring note (of which occasional echoes are heard in later chapters). It first sounds in the Foreword, where we are told that 'the Anglican theologian to-day is uniquely favoured for the task of recovering the lost unity of an integrally Catholic theology' because he is 'free, as the Roman Catholic is not, to see the Fathers as they are and not as recast in the mould of the Council of Trent'; then we are told that 'the visible organ by which the Church's unity is expressed and maintained' is the universal Episcopate (p. 13), and that 'the Roman Church has gone wrong in treating the Church's visibility as an organizational rather than as a sacramental one, and so in locating that unity in the organizational organ of the Papacy rather than in the sacramental organ of the Episcopate' (p. 18).

This is in marked contrast with the objectivity which characterizes the book as a whole. My reason for dwelling on it is not that I have the slightest wish to engage in the sort of controversy which has been going on recently (if one may trust the newspapers—I have abstained from further investigations), but that it seems to me of supreme importance, when interconfessional differences are being discussed, for the parties concerned to discover what the points of difference between them really are. And Dr Mascall, in this chapter, covers them up. He does, indeed, suggest in one passage that 'the real issue which divides Catholics from Protestants' has to do with sanctifying grace (p. 6). But the issue which divides Catholics from Protestants in the most absolute way is clearly that of the Church's visible unity. The theory of an invisible Church, although it involves an abandonment of traditional

Christianity and of any appeal to authority, whether past or present, can at least be discussed. But Dr Mascall's 'visible organ' of unity only darkens counsel. He seems to argue as though the fact that the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of Westminster are visible and the fact (if it be a fact) that they are both sacramentally consecrated leads to the conclusion that they are visibly united. In any case, everybody knows that they are not. It is not in anybody's interest and does not serve the cause of charity to shrink from saying quite plainly what one thinks in these matters. Dr Mascall has simply reproduced the old 'Branch Theory'. I put it to him that his objections to the 'Roman Church', if they are objections which should dissuade anybody from being a member of it, are *pro tanto* further objections to his own position. For if this Church has fallen into error in such a way that it cannot claim our loyalty, then Dr Mascall can no longer appeal to it as helping to constitute 'Catholicity'. (It is sad that one should have to go on saying these things, but it might be dangerously misleading if, on these occasions, one ceased to do so.) The only error of a particular kind adduced by Dr Mascall (apart, that is, from theological tendencies which one might deplore, up to a point, along with him) is the doctrine that the Church has a visible head who is determined by means of an election. If 'it is perhaps not altogether impious to suggest that the ascended Lord may have been ready to endorse' the Church's action in making 'a departure from the primordial rite' of the Mass, there seems no reason why we should be scandalized by the election of popes. The disjunction between the bodily and the spiritual which this chapter presupposes is all the more surprising when we remember the excellent things which Dr Mascall has said about the unity of body and soul and the principle of sacramentality.

DOM ILLTYD TRETHOWAN.

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## THE EPIKLESIS IN THE LITURGY OF SAINT BASIL

**I**N the Greek Pedalion (first published in 1800) there is a note<sup>1</sup> (p. 44) on Laodicea 19, which bids the priest to omit from St Basil's Epiklesis the clause μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ ("changing them by thy Holy Spirit") because its omission from the ancient manuscripts of St Basil, and its lack of syntactic connection with the context, prove that it was intruded into St Basil's Epiklesis from that of St John Chrysostom by some uneducated and irresponsible person, apparently out of opposition to the Latins.

Although the clause in question has fallen out of the Greek texts of St Basil's liturgy, it remains in the Orthodox Slavonic books, and also in the service books approved and published by the Church of Rome for Uniates.

<sup>1</sup> The note concerns other matters also. Its complete text is as follows:—

"Inasmuch as the discussion is about the liturgy, we indicate here five points which Christians ought to know, and especially priests.

1. As soon as it is time for the priest to begin the liturgy, all Christians should stop sitting and gossiping outside the church, and should come into the church; and the hours should be read while the priest performs the proskomidia.

2. When the priest performs the proskomidia and mentions his own names, he should signal from within so that the Christians who listen outside may leave their stasidia and stand uncovered. Then each Christian should mention within himself the names of his parents and his other kindred; and the priest in the sanctuary should say nothing except "Have in remembrance, O Lord; Have in remembrance, O Lord", until all have finished reciting the names which they have to remember, and return to their stasidia.

3. Priests should not bless with their hand either the prothesis at the prayer, nor the High Seat, but only make a little Reverence toward them, as the twelfth canon of St Nikephoros also explains.

4. When they serve the liturgy of St Basil, at the time of the Metousiosis and hallowing of the Mysteries, priests must not say "changing them by thy Holy Spirit": for this is an addition by some uneducated and reckless person, who, apparently out of opposition to the Latins, took these words from the liturgy of Chrysostom and put them into the liturgy of Basil: wherefore these words are not found in the ancient manuscripts of the liturgy, as we have learned by our own investigation; nor do such words have any place there according to syntax.

5. For my last point I report that the ancient rolls and books of the liturgy, at the time of the hallowing of the Mysteries, do not have the troparion of the Third Hour and its stikhoi; but that immediately after "And send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Gifts which lie here before thee" they have "And make this Bread". Some modern persons, of course, have added the troparion and its stikhoi, perhaps through precaution, although these things have no place here. Nevertheless, if anybody, drawn away from custom, wants to say these things, let him say them before "Further, we offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody worship".

A. But the reasons given by the note in the Pedalion are not sufficient to prove its claim that the clause was intruded into St Basil's Epiklesis from that of St John Chrysostom:

(1) The Clause is attested for St Basil's liturgy by Goar's *Cryptoferrat. Arsenii*, a fragment which bears the date 1041.

(2) The syntactic connection of the clause presents no difficulty for comprehension. The construction is according to sense: the participle logically should be accusative to agree with 'thee' of 'we entreat thee', but after the lengthy intervening passage which follows 'to show forth' the natural feeling for nominative as subject prevails over strict logic; and there is not the least sacrifice of clarity, inasmuch as the only thinkable attribution of the participle is to the Father, regardless of case.

'Construction according to sense' is not rare in Greek. Indeed, there is another example of it in this same Epiklesis, the clause ἀλλ' ἵνα εὐρώμεν. From the many examples in the Greek New Testament may be cited St Mark vii, 18, 19 and xii, 38-40; St Luke xxiv, 46, 47; and Philippians iii, 18, 19. For classical Greek may be cited the well-known case in Plato, *Apology* 19c.

B. As for any claims on grounds other than those alleged in the Pedalion that the clause in question was intruded into St Basil's Epiklesis from that of St John Chrysostom, the following considerations are relevant:

(1) Neither Father invented the liturgy which bears his name; at most he refashioned materials already in use, and so illustrated the fundamentally significant fact that a living Christian liturgy is subject to processes of development and adjustment. Although textual criticism may attempt to define what forms a liturgy had at particular stages of its history, in the case of our liturgies the forms in which St Basil and St John Chrysostom knew them are no longer recoverable in detail. Indeed, no complete texts earlier than the ninth or tenth century of the forms now in use have survived the hazards of written transmission across the centuries. The trend of this discussion is that nobody can distinguish with complete certainty the original Basilian material from later modifications and accretions.

(2) The verb μεταβάλλειν in connection with the changing of the Holes was neither peculiar to Constantinople nor strange to St Basil, but was in common use, as is shown by two occurrences of it in the contemporary Cyril of Jerusalem's *Katēkhēsis Mystagōgikē*: οἶνον μεταβαλὼν εἰς αἶμα (4: 2/Migne PG 33. 1097); Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλόνηρον

Θεόν, τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστείλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκειμένα ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸν δὲ οἶνον Αἷμα Χριστοῦ. Πάντως γὰρ οὐ ἐὰν ἐφάψατο τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιασται καὶ μεταβέβληται (5. 7/Migne PG 33. 1113).

(3) If the clause in question is an intrusion into St Basil, it is the only example claimed to show intrusion of material from St John Chrysostom's liturgy into that of St Basil. Actually, the known cases of intrusion of material from one of these liturgies to the other do not show transference in the direction claimed for this clause, but in the opposite direction, from St Basil to St John Chrysostom: the prayers of St John Chrysostom given by the codex Barberinus for the little Entrance<sup>a</sup> and the Trisagion have been displaced in our books by the corresponding prayers of St Basil.

C. A consideration of the manuscript evidence for St Basil's Epiklesis shows that if the clause in question is an intrusion it is only one of several responses to a complex problem of interpretation.

The following is a condensation (excluding the clause) of the oldest recoverable text: Σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔλθειν τὸ Πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Δῶρα καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιασάσαι καὶ ἀναδείξαι τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Σῶμα τὸ δὲ ποτήριον Αἷμα ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἐνώσαι ἀλλήλοις εἰς ἐνὸς Πνεύματος κοινωνίαν καὶ μηδὲνα ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα ποιήσαι μετασχεῖν ἀλλ' ἵνα εὐρωμεν ἔλεον καὶ χάριν

(We entreat thee for thy Holy Spirit to come upon us and upon the Gifts, and to bless them and to hallow and to show forth the Bread indeed as Body, but the Cup as Blood; but us partakers to unite to one another in communion of One Spirit, and not one of us unto judgement to make partake, but rather that we may find mercy and grace.)

The problem of interpretation arises out of the fact that the syntax of the infinitives in the passage can be explained in two ways.

The more direct solution is to take the five infinitives after ἔλθειν ('to come') as coordinate with it, so that all of them are subject to the Holy Spirit.

This interpretation brings St Basil's Epiklesis into agreement with all the other liturgies except that of St John Chrysostom. The liturgies attributed to St Mark and St James, as living liturgies, were subject to modification and development in the course of their transmission; but the so-called Clementine

<sup>a</sup> The prayer of St John Chrysostom for the little Entrance is a slightly modified form of the first part of the prayer of the Enarxis in the liturgy of St James.

Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions is part of an apocryphal literary work, and therefore preserves unchanged the form in which it was originally incorporated in that work. It is now generally accepted that the Constitutions were compiled in Antioch or its neighbourhood in the latter half of the fourth century—that is to say, in the time of St Basil and St John Chrysostom. The Clementine Liturgy says, 'Send down thy Holy Spirit that he may manifest this Bread'; St Mark's says, 'Send forth thy Holy Spirit that he may hallow and complete and make this Bread'; St James' says, 'Send down thine All-holy Spirit that he may hallow and make this Bread'. The Basilian formula is remarkable in that it alone, instead of saying 'Send down thy Holy Spirit', and thereby avoiding all ambiguity of connection between subject and verb, says, 'we pray for thy Holy Spirit to come'; but its drift can readily be taken to follow the clear meaning of the other liturgies, their consensus being dated for his period by the date of the Clementine Liturgy.<sup>8</sup>

But St Basil's Liturgy was only one of two in familiar use; and the Epiklesis of the other liturgy, that of St John Chrysostom, is perfectly clear and unambiguous in presenting another and quite different drift: 'Send down thy Holy Spirit AND make'. It would be natural that the clear and unmistakable meaning of St Chrysostom's Epiklesis should influence the interpretation of the familiar but less clearly stated Basilian Epiklesis, and uncover therein a latent ambiguity: for the meaning of the two Epikleses can be reconciled if all the infinitives after ἐλθεῖν ('to come') are assigned to the Father, a reasonable thing to do inasmuch as the prayer is addressed to Him. The sense then is, 'We entreat thee for thy Holy Spirit to come upon us and upon the Gifts; and for thee to bless them; and for thee to hallow and to show forth . . . but to unite us and to make none of us partake unto judgement'; or, by breaking after 'to bless them', ' . . . for thy Holy Spirit to come . . . and to bless them; and for thee to hallow', etc.

The uncovering of this latent ambiguity in the Basilian Epiklesis would lead naturally to efforts, perhaps timid at first and later more daring, to emend the Basilian text. Present knowledge, of course, does not suffice to determine the chronological order of the known emendations, nor the extent of their dispersion.

<sup>8</sup> But note: St James and St Chrysostom, 'Send down thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Gifts that here lie before thee'; St Mark, 'Look upon us, and send forth thy Holy Spirit upon these Breads and upon these Cups'; Clementine, 'Look upon these Gifts that here lie before thee, and send down thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice'.

To assure the assignment of the last two infinitives ('to unite' and 'to make') to the Father, revisers changed them to second-person optatives by adding the letter sigma, ἐνώσαι and ποιῆσαι becoming ἐνώσαις and ποιῆσαις. Trempeles<sup>4</sup> reports these two words as infinitives in four manuscripts as late as the sixteenth century, and does not record them as optatives for any manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century.

Some manuscripts known to Goar break the sense after the three earlier infinitives, thereby probably assigning to the third the meaning 'to consecrate' instead of 'to show forth'; and intrude from St John Chrysostom the imperative 'make', so as to read '... to bless them, and to hallow and to consecrate them: And make this Bread . . . (*some have*, And this Bread make . . .)'. The effect was to assign the three earlier infinitives to the Holy Spirit, and would require the change of the two later infinitives to optatives. (This break after 'to show forth' would also provide a place for the intrusion of the troparion and its stikhoi.) The date of this variant is unknown, but probably late; Goar's manuscripts are not dated, and Trempeles does not record the variant.

Another variant, 'that which is in this Cup' instead of 'this Cup', is reported both by Goar (undated) and by Trempeles (one manuscript of the fifteenth century and two of the eighteenth).

The relation of the μεταβαλὼν clause to these emendations is uncertain. On the evidence, it is the oldest of the suspected elements in the Basilian Epiklesis: although Trempeles quotes it for no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, Goar (as we mentioned earlier) reports it from a source dated 1041. Whether it is Basilian or an intrusion, its presence without the assistance of the emendations already mentioned would mitigate the originally latent ambiguity without relieving it entirely: its unmistakable reference to the Father would force the second and third infinitives after ἐλθεῖν ('to come'), and possibly the first ('to bless') also, to accept the 'thee' of 'we entreat thee' as subject, and would have the same effect on the two infinitives ('to unite' and 'to make') after it. Nevertheless, the structure would still be something less than obvious, and there would still remain some allurements to emendation.

At last there would be a reaction against such extensive tampering with St Basil's text, and to such a reaction the note in the Pedalion bears witness. Everything suspected of intrusion would be thrown out—that is to say, everything which had

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Trempeles, *Hai Treis Leitourgiai*, Athens, 1935.



a verbal equivalent in St Chrysostom's Epiklesis would be thrown out: the imperative 'make', the troparion and its stikhoi, and 'that which is in this Cup'. The application of this standard for detecting intruded material would throw out the μεταβαλὼν clause also, whether Basilian or not. But the two optatives would survive (and have survived) the application of the standard, although they of all the emendations are the most difficult to defend.

D. Our own view is that no argument yet advanced is strong enough to compel the expulsion of the clause from the Basilian Epiklesis. We note that there are some (among them Probst and de Meester) who suggest that it is an intrusion ('Einschiebsel', 'superfetation') even in the liturgy of St John Chrysostom. But the text of a living liturgy is not final at any stage in its history, and therefore cannot be controlled by the principles of criticism which are employed to recover the fixed original text of a classical Greek drama. The ultimate authority for the text of a living liturgy is not the textual critic but the inspired voice of the Church. And for retaining the clause in the Basilian Epiklesis we are supported, not only by the trend of the foregoing view of the situation, but also by the wide diffusion of the clause through space and time, and by its specific and surely valuable reinforcement of Orthodox doctrine.

MICHAEL G. H. GELSINGER, PH.D., Archpriest.

Pastor of Theophany Russian Orthodox parish, Buffalo, N. J.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor of the *E.C.Q.*

DEAR SIR,

In the 'News and Comments' of your Autumn number (1953), you commend the Prior of Ampleforth's article on the Unity Pilgrimage to Rome, but compare it with a 'similar' pilgrimage organized by the Roman fraternity 'Jeremia Valahul'. May I point out, however, a most important difference: the former was planned jointly by Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Anglicans, and the Anglican and Orthodox pilgrims had their own chaplains and their own services—the Anglican Eucharist being in fact celebrated every day of the pilgrimage. The aim and method of 'Jeremia Valahul' in 'offering a spiritual feast of Catholicism in a brotherly atmosphere to those who, Catholic or not—pray for Unity during the January Octave',



cannot surely be considered as altogether coinciding with those of last June's oecumenical pilgrimage to Rome.

Yours faithfully,

ROGER GREENACRE.

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Mirfield, Yorks.

[We are pleased that the difference in the two pilgrimages has been pointed out. They are, nevertheless, similar in that they are both pilgrimages in Rome for Christian Unity and reinforce the Octave of Prayer.—THE EDITOR.]

### CONCELEBRATION

DEAR SIR,

In the two articles on concelebration in the last two numbers of the *E.C.Q.* in 1953, Father Brianchaninoff quotes two authorities (among others) concerning this practice. In the early writings, he says, there seems to be a general lack of rubrics, but de Puniet is quoted as saying: 'The canonical compilations certainly say that the priests are to extend their hands over the oblations during the eucharistic prayer, at the same time as the bishop, but it seems that the bishop says the prayer alone' (*E.C.Q.* Autumn 1953, p. 127). As regards the Orthodox practice at the present day Hanssens is quoted thus: 'Among non-Catholic Easterns eucharistic concelebration fall shorter of being sacramental concelebration than in the (Catholic) Byzantine rite: standing at the altar . . . at the most incensing the sanctuary and church, distributing Holy Communion. The concelebrants do not say the prayers with the celebrant, still less the anaphora.'

The Russian Orthodox, so we are told, are the exception. In a pontifical brought out at Moscow in 1902 there is a rubric telling all the celebrants to recite the Words of the Lord over the bread and wine conjointly, secretly, making one voice with the bishop (*E.C.Q.* Winter 1953, pp. 196, 197). Here I would like to refer to an article on the same subject in the January (1954) issue of *Worship*. The author is largely quoting Dom Bernard Botte in *Maison Dieu* (No. 35). He warns us against interpreting history in the light of present legislation. When we call to mind the inspiring picture of an early Christian bishop, surrounded by his priests, deacons and faithful people at their sacrificial worship, we are apt to think that the bishop alone did the consecrating, while his priests merely assisted and communicated. In other words we

classify such a Mass as *ceremonial concelebration* simply because the assisting priests did not say the Canon. It was the function of the 'President' to do that.

'The most ancient traditions assure us beyond doubt', says Dom Botte, 'that the Mass used to be celebrated by a bishop as a single liturgical act *jointly* with his priests, and that these truly exercised their sacerdotal powers even though their concelebration was silent . . . Priests of the third century validly consecrated the Eucharist by extending their hands over the offering, just as (co-consecrating) bishops validly consecrated a new member of the episcopate by laying hands on him without personally saying any words [a decree of the S.C.R. of 1950 now requires the words]. Both were collective actions of which the sense was given by the prayer of the president. A merely ceremonial concelebration, devoid of sacramental validity, is a myth which should be dispelled. It has no basis whatever in tradition.'

This surely has some relevance to *E.C.Q.* articles!

Yours truly,

K.F.E.W.

#### THE BYZANTINE LITURGY

In connection with our review of the above in the last issue (page 216) we have received a letter from an Orthodox priest. Since it justifies Fr Englebert and gives valuable information we publish the pertinent paragraphs below.—

THE EDITOR.

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

May I trouble you and put in a good word on behalf of Fr C. Englebert; *i re τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην*, etc. (*E.C.Q.*, last issue, p. 216). I think that 'reasonable' or 'rational' is a very bad translation of λογικὴν; 'spiritual', which is a very imperfect translation, comes yet nearer to the meaning of λογικὴν. The Latin 'rationabilis' is also bad. The idea of λογικὴν is not a kind of sweet reasonableness or rationality, but of a connection with the logos, i.e. the word of God—λεγεῖν—to say—the meaning 'Word' is prior to the meaning 'reason'. It is in the same way that the hymn of Clemens of Alexandria speaks of the 'logical sheep', i.e. not reasonable sheep, but the sheep of the logos Good Shepherd. This is made clear by the Slavonic translation. (These translators of the eighth century knew well their liturgical and patristic Greek.) Now in the Slavonic text λογικὴν is not translated by 'razumnaya' (=rational, reasonable), but by

'slovesnaya' (=having a connection with the *Slovo* or Word of God). 'Spiritual' would be a mistake if it were intended to refer to the Holy Spirit, but it seems pretty accurate if it is used in the same way as when we say 'in spirit and truth'. I myself, when I celebrate in English, say 'this worship in spirit', which seems better to me than 'reasonable worship'.

ii. *Re μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου*, may I make some tentative comments?

The *present* participle should be *μεταβάλλων* (which is found in some MS., as *μεταλαβὼν* is found on another). I am no hellenist, but I think that *μεταβαλὼν* or *μεταβαλόν* (since both forms are found), might be considered as *the past (aorist) participle* and thus could be rightly translated by 'having changed'. Anyway the Slavonic translators of the liturgy, who were well at home with the Greek language of their time, have considered *μεταβαλὼν* as a past participle and rendered it by 'prelojiv' which is the past participle of the Slavonic verb 'prelogit'. The Slavonic meaning is undoubtedly 'having changed'.

Yours,

London

L.G.

16th February 1954.

## DOCUMENTATION

In *The Catholic Herald* (15th January 1954) there was an article by Commander C. I. Kerr, entitled 'Anglican Orders not recognized by Orthodox Church'.

It is not often that an article of such length and such detail on the question of Anglican and Orthodox relations appears in the Catholic press in England. As all those interested in the Ecumenical movement need to keep the Anglican relationship with, on the one hand, the Orthodox and on the other the Free Churches clearly before them, it is important that such matters should be brought before the Catholic public and we are indeed grateful to Commander Kerr for doing this. With the greater part of the article we agree, there are, however, two passages that we think rather unfair and likely to give a wrong impression.

We quote the first:—

1. "The Anglican brief was invariably presented by advocates who were of the High Church school. The voices or opinions of the Broad Churchmen and the Evangelicals were mute. They were not invited to the conferences.

Moreover, the validity of the Anglican orders could only be acceptable to these Orthodox divines by their craving in aid, by their invoking, that peculiar—to Western ideas—theological principle of what is known as 'economy'. Orthodoxy asserts thereby its own competence to 'supply', *post hoc*, by a process of augmentation and dispensation any defect in the matter and form of the Sacrament of Holy Orders.

This principle or theory of 'economy' is unknown in the formularies of the Established Church; it might be difficult to discover any Anglican theologian who in speech or writing has defended it—or even discussed it.

From the standpoint of an Anglican it would seem in some degree illogical to welcome, nay rejoice, in a recognition of his orders, such recognition being founded upon a thesis which his own Church rejects or ignores."

In this section there are two statements which we think need qualification.

It is true that those Anglicans most interested and so most active in Anglican Orthodox relations are of the High Church school [to use Commander Kerr's term] but that they are the only representatives on the Anglican side is too sweeping a statement. One of the regular members of these conferences is the Archbishop of Dublin, but the Protestant Church of Ireland can hardly be described as High Church. It is also to be remembered that at the final stage the reports of the various delegations and committees have to pass through the four Houses of Convocation.

The second statement is concerned with the theological principle of economy.

Commander Kerr says above that: 'it might be difficult to discover any Anglican theologian who in speech or writings has defended it—or even discussed it'. We will refer the Commander to *The Christian East* (Vol. XII, No. 1, 1931, p. 34). He has in another part of his article referred to this periodical. Here he will find that the Anglican bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 asked to have the meaning of economy explained to them by their Orthodox colleagues. Dr Headlam (bishop of Gloucester) quoted from a thesis on the sacraments by Professor Dyovouniotes (1913): 'It must be borne in mind, however, that, as holding stewardship of the divine grace, the Church is able both to recognize the priesthood and the sacraments in general of schismatics and heretics among whom they are not accomplished canonically or the Apostolic succession has been broken, and also, for

reasons which she herself regards as reasonable and necessary, to reject altogether the priesthood and the sacraments of schismatics and heretics among whom they are accomplished canonically and the Apostolic succession has not been broken.'

In reply the Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria (the leader of the Orthodox delegation) said: 'that while it was true that the Church had power to reject the priesthood of schismatics it has no power to recognize ordinations in Churches where the Apostolic succession has been broken. He said, that in the whole history of the Church there had been no example of such economy as that.'

The Orthodox doctrine of economy is a consequence of their teaching that the Church recognizes as valid without qualification, only those sacraments which she herself has administered.

2. "In 1936 the High Church party was vouchsafed additional ground for jubilation. The Holy Synod of Rumania recognized Anglican orders.

But here again, the negotiations which were held in secrecy and were conducted on the Anglican side by spokesmen of the High Church school, who interpret and construe Anglican formularies and practices in a way by no means acceptable to many members of the Established Church of England.

It was not long before these Anglican-Rumanian discussions became the object of very severe criticism. Fifteen hundred English clergymen vehemently repudiated the concord arrived at in Bukarest: they asserted their wholehearted dislike at having the sacerdotal character imposed upon or attributed to themselves. (*The Record*, 14th August 1930.)

Their protest was endorsed and confirmed at the 110th Conference of Evangelical Anglican clergy in January 1937.

Reports of these proceedings having in due course reached Bukarest, the Rumanian clergy dissociated themselves from the pronouncement of their presumably misled and perhaps over-naïve Holy Synod. They phrased their resolution: 'We refuse to recognize any compromise with heretics' (Carental, 1936-7. Bukarest. P. Galaction.)

The Orthodox Church of Greece has not been silent on this issue. The Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos expressed his opinion in 1931 that the 'vexed question' of Anglican orders was one which only a General Council was competent to decide. His late Beatitude has been called one of the most erudite divines of Orthodoxy and he attached no weight to the *motu proprio*s of individual theologians or national Synods."

In connection with the Rumanian Commission Canon Guy Rogers, in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, seems to have raised the same question as Commander Kerr. He was answered thus by the Rev. C. E. Douglas: 'that the papers presented by the Anglican delegation had been written by the dean of York, Canon Douglas, who was a Catholic (High Church), the bishop of Lincoln, Dr Macdonald, who was a very definite Evangelical and one of the most distinguished writers in *The Record*, Dr Frank Gavin, and the archbishop of Dublin. These papers presented on the Anglican side were certainly not over weighted with what might be called the Catholic view' (*The Chronicle of Convocation*, May 1936, No. 2, p. 243).

We do not think that the protest of the Anglican clergy referred to by Commander Kerr represented the mind of the central party in the Church of England, whereas the protest of the rank and file of the Orthodox in Rumania is likely enough. It is good to record these reactions.

As regards the Orthodox Church in Greece, we must point out that four professors of the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens were asked by the Holy Synod to study the question of Anglican Orders. As a result they agreed that, with the aid of economy, Anglican orders *may* be recognized by the Orthodox Church.

The Holy Synod, after saying that the settlement of such an important question belonged to the whole Orthodox Church, decided to maintain their previous practice, namely that after careful examination of the special cases the Church could recognize by economy the orders of an Anglican becoming an Orthodox. (See *E.C.Q.* October 1940: 'Church of Greece and Anglican Orders'. Fr Gill, s.j.)

The late Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos in his book, *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations* (The Faith Press, 1931), argues in favour of accepting Anglican Orders by economy, nevertheless, he ends his study, as all Orthodox do, by saying: 'It remains for the whole Orthodox Church to settle definitely this much debated question' (see page 90).

We have made these comments since it is important to see the whole picture as accurately as possible. We will add a further note of consideration. Many Anglicans are now holding that the episcopate is not of the *esse* of the Church but only of the *bene esse*. This is true not only of the Liberal School but also of the main body of the Anglican Communion. This attitude may facilitate union with Continental Protestants and

the Free Churches, but it will certainly retard the work of Anglican and Orthodox relations.

We refer our readers to a back number of the *E.C.Q.* (October–December 1948) in which there is an article by the Rev. E. Every, 'The Eastern Orthodox Churches and Anglican Ordinations', this bears on the whole subject.

\* \* \* \*

*Tome Commémoratif du Millénaire de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie* (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie No. 2). General Editor Dr Th. D. Moschonas. Alexandria 1953, 328 pages + 22 plates.

The present volume contains thirty articles which have been contributed by Greek and Oriental scholars in honour of the Millennium of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Library of Alexandria and of the foundation of the Institute of Oriental Studies. These articles in Greek, Arabic, French, German and English deal with a wide range of subjects relating to Eastern Christendom, of which the following may be noted :—

#### *Biography*

Barbour, Ruth : Maximos Archdeacon of Alexandria (1597–1603).

Hunger, H. : Aus den Letzten Lebensjahren des Jacobs Diassorinos.

Michaelidès, E. : Eutychios, Patriarch of Alexandria (933–40) and his spiritual heritage (Arabic).

Nantin, P. : Pantène (French).

Tōmadakēs, N. B. : Meletius Pigas and the dependence of the Church of Crete on the Patriarchate of Alexandria (Greek).

#### *Monasticism*

Badawy, A. : Les premiers établissements chrétiens dans les anciennes tombes d'Égypte.

Stephanidou, B. : An historical criticism of the problems of monastic establishments of Nitria and the cells of Scetis in Egypt (Greek).

#### *Hagiography*

Kamil, M. : Ste Euphrosyne, Vierge d'Alexandrie.

Palachkovsky, V. : Les Saints Abdas, martyrs persans.



*History*

Abd al-Malik, B. : The Christian Church in Egypt in the Tenth Century.

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*Art*

Sôtêriou, G. A. : Greek-Arabic Eicons of Moses and the Prophet Elias of Mount Sinai (Greek).

The General Editor Dr Th. D. Moschonas contributes a note on the Cryptogram in MS. 160 of the Patriarchal Library.

The next volume of this publication of the Institute of Oriental Studies is now in press and will appear shortly.

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

Many of our contemporaries are commemorating the ninth centenary of the great Eastern Schism by a special issue dealing with the various aspects of schism. We intend to draw attention to certain means the better understanding of which will help us in the healing of the separation. Last year Father Dejaifve, S.J., wrote on 'Sobornost' and the papacy which is fundamental to the problem. This year we hope to bring out two reprints: Sister Irmgard's interesting and useful papers on the Byzantine liturgical year, it is important that we should know more about the Orthodox public prayer, which is that of the Catholics of Byzantine rite too.

The second reprint, though this may not actually be out until 1955, is that of Father Basil Krivoshein's articles on the theological and ascetic teaching of Gregory Palamas, vital, we think, for an understanding of Orthodox thought.



Together with these we are bringing out an *E.C.Q.* issue on the Orthodox and our Lady with special reference to her Immaculate Conception. This selection of studies we offer in the hope that in some little way the gap between us and the Orthodox will be bridged.

\* \* \* \*

#### CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION

As our American readers know the office of this Association in New York is, by the great kindness of Mgr Thomas McMahon and the Archpriest Andrew Rogosh, an agency for the *E.C.Q.* Mgr McMahon is also the president of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine and from time to time some report of its work is published in our pages.

Two small pamphlets had been sent us at the opening of this year.

1. *Sufficient Unto the Day*. This is a report (with illustrations) of what has been done during the last five years of dreadful suffering—hunger, nakedness, disease. The Pontifical mission has brought not only physical relief—food, clothes, hospitals—but also spiritual, intellectual and moral—churches, schools and clubs—to cope with the situation. There is a record both of the aids sent and of the countries which participate in this vital work.

2. *Hills of the Morning*. This is a pamphlet and gives the historical and political background to these five years. It gives the reasons for the establishment of the Pontifical mission and also records the Pope's interest in the Palestinian problem right from the beginning.

\* \* \* \*

This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of our contemporary, *Irénikon*. We congratulate the community of Amay-Chevetogne, and particularly Dom Lambert Beauduin, for their great work in the cause of Christian Unity. It is not too much to say that 'Amay' has inspired a great deal of the present eirenic attitude of the Catholic approach both to the Orthodox and also in regard to the Ecumenical Movement, and in this *Irénikon* has taken no small part.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Schism in the Early Church* by S. L. Greenslade, D.D. Pp. 235 (S.C.M. Press) 21s.

Dr Greenslade has placed all those working for Christian unity under an obligation in giving us his studies on the question of schism in the early Church. They were given in the first place as the Edward Cadbury Lectures in the University of Birmingham, and are now published in the book before us.

The book is meant to help and guide Christians in present day œcumenical problems. It is a study of the past in order to meet the needs of the present, bearing in mind, however, the altered conditions of the present. It is a turning to traditions a recognition of our Christian origins, and in this the author's research and scholarship are all to the good. It is with his application that we cannot agree. Nevertheless, it demands careful and sympathetic consideration.

Abbot Butler gave a full-dress notice of this book in *The Downside Review* (Autumn 1953); we must confine ourselves to one or two questions raised in the course of the thesis.

Dr Greenslade confines himself to the question of schism (not heresy) and divides the book into the causes of schism, the Church's response, and consequences. He admits that the accepted teaching of both Catholics and schismatics (and heretics too) in the early Church was that there is but one visible Church and this visible Church is identified with the Mystical Body of Christ. The Holy Spirit is in the Church and not in the schismatic bodies—so St Cyprian. This teaching concerning the Church and her sacraments is common and basic. A difference, however, occurs in the teaching of St Cyprian on the one hand and Rome on the other concerning baptism among schismatics. The former says there is no baptism since there is no Holy Spirit outside the Church, the latter, and this includes St Augustine, says it is true baptism for it is Christ who baptizes. Augustine applies this also to ordination and teaches that though the sacraments received in schism are valid, if administered in the correct way, they have no effect (i.e. of grace) until the recipient is reconciled with the Church.

This was Augustine's attitude to the ordinary Donatist who was knowingly in opposition to the Catholic Church. But the saint was aware of other cases, e.g. a man who is in 'extreme necessity' and cannot find a Catholic to baptize him, may laudably receive baptism from the hands of a non-Catholic

and 'should he straightway die, we hold him for a Catholic'; such a man being 'in spiritual union with the Church', imposes no obstacle of perverse will to the valid sacrament which he receives, and therefore the sacrament is efficacious in his case [quoted by Butler]. And so by development the present Catholic position which accepts the sacraments and orders of some non-Catholics as valid provided certain conditions have been fulfilled.

Dr Greenslade would argue from this practice that 'as soon as you are prepared to acknowledge efficacious ministries and sacraments outside your own "church", efficacious that is, *as* ministries and *as* sacraments, you must acknowledge that *ipso facto* the bodies which possess them are in some real senses "churches" within the one Church' (p. 214). He would also apply this, as a principle, in the case of Anglicans and the Free Churches, although he would do this with caution.

As the outcome of his studies and as a result of his theological reconsideration in view of application to present needs, Dr Greenslade says, 'the question which I want to press most strongly at the conclusion of my book is, should we still take as our point of departure the conception which ruled, almost without challenge, in the early centuries of Christianity, that the Church is a single visible communion, and that all schisms are outside it, or should we now believe that the one Church is inwardly divided by schism?' (p. 212.) He holds the latter belief but 'with no wish to dissent *in toto*' from the former (p. 213).

Both Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy, he admits, stand for the former, the teaching of Christian antiquity, and they both also meet the problem of Christians outside the visible Church; Catholicism by a deeper consideration of *how* one is a member of the Church, and Orthodoxy by its doctrine of economy.

We are pleased that Dr Greenslade has shown himself appreciative of the position of the Uniate Churches in the Church of Rome (p. 105), we believe that here is the answer to many problems in relation with Christian Unity.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*The Transcendent Unity of Religions* by Frithjof Schuon (Faber, 1953).

A book on 'comparative religion' may not seem at first sight to be of immediate interest to readers of a review dedicated

to the ending of disunity between Latin and Greek. This new work, however, is decidedly worthy of attention, as it not only contains numerous passages on scholasticism and 'Palamitism' which are of the utmost importance for the understanding of the East-West schism, but also, and above all, bears witness on every page to that transcendent spiritual unity which alone is capable of inspiring the charity and vision necessary if we are to reach a level profound enough to overcome the theological divergence.

The author, a Frenchman of Alsatian origin, is possessed of great erudition and intellectual concentration, and his elucidation of some of the finer points which lie at the basis of the ecclesiastical separation is particularly impressive.

Speaking of the intellectual characteristics of Latin and Greek M. Schuon quotes the Jesuit scholar, Fr Ammann, who writes: "The notion of philosophy came to have a different meaning for the Eastern and Western Churches, in the sense that for the Greeks it comprised organically a large proportion of religious theories, while for the Latins it contained, intentionally or involuntarily, the seed which ultimately led to the total separation of religion and rationalist science."

This is important for the author's thesis, since he is never tired of contrasting the man-made nature of 'philosophies' and the divine nature of Revelation. "The Judaeo-Roman world into which Christianity was born was saturated with vain philosophies . . . and was dying from a sort of lassitude or disgust. In order to cut this "Gordian Knot" it was essential for the New Revelation to affirm by its form the "direct", "formless" and "non-human" character of true spirituality, or in other words of the "spirit" which conquers the "flesh"—the latter denoting everything that is purely of the human order—and this is one of the reasons for the symbolism of "Love" in the Christian Revelation; and it may be added that the acceptance of philosophical thought, that is to say of "wisdom according to the flesh", is nothing less than a betrayal of this Love."

One of the many virtues of this book is that the author so frequently manages to 'situate' or 'define' in a few words some particular religious movement or dogmatic formulation, as, for example, in his brief comments on the 'Way of Knowledge' and the 'Way of Love', and also in his few, but well chosen words on Freemasonry, in which he clearly demonstrates its non-Christian character.

As regards the Eastern Church, M. Schuon expounds the doctrine and practice of 'Palamitism', which he calls a 'strictly traditional synthesis of the teachings of Fathers such as Saint Denys the Areopagite and St Gregory of Nyssa, or rather of all the Greek Fathers right back to the Apostles'. He lists a whole line of saints as authorities for this position, from the earliest times right up to St Gregory Palamas, 'in order to underline the fact that Hesychasm, which is too often looked upon as a philosophico-mystical "curiosity" of purely historical interest, has its roots in Christianity as such, and that it is not merely a rather special development of Christian spirituality, but its purest and deepest expression . . . This [spiritual] method has been handed down, through the Desert Fathers, in a direct line of descent from primitive Christianity—which of course does not imply that all its latter formulations and adaptations are to be found as such from the very outset, but simply that all the forms of Hesychasm are derived with strict traditional fidelity from something that existed in Christianity at the beginning . . . The Hesychast method has not, in fact, a specifically "moral", "social", or "psychological" character, being on the contrary purely "contemplative"—"egotistical" and "unproductive" some would doubtless call it, unaware that the greatest benefit for a human society (to speak only of extrinsic values which alone interest shallow minds) is the presence of the spiritual man and the blessings he diffuses.'

M. Schuon goes on to discuss the 'prayer of Jesus', and besides having recourse to the many Greek Fathers who have left writings on this subject, he also quotes as his authorities the Catholic mystics of the Middle Ages who used this spiritual method.

The sections on Islam are not without interest to the Christian. One frequently forgets how 'close' Islam has been to us in the past, coming as it did into direct contact with Catholics in Spain and even France, and with Orthodox in Greece and the Balkans. The author leaves us with a clear idea of the perspectives, somewhat different from those of Christianity, which are characteristic of Islam and generally unfamiliar in the West.

There is no doubt that this profound book on spirituality will be read with profit by all who are interested in theology and the life of the spirit.

WILLIAM S. STODDART.

*The Development of Christian Worship* by Dom Benedict Steuart. Pp. xxvi and 290 (Longmans, 1953) 30s.

*The Evolution of the Christian Year* by A. Allan McArthur. Pp. 192 (S.C.M., 1953) 15s.

*The Manual of Olavus Petri*, 1529 by Eric E. Yelverton. Pp. xi and 136 (S.P.C.K., 1953) 15s.

Dom Benedict Steuart's volume bears the sub-title 'An Outline of Liturgical History'. It would be wrong therefore to go to its 300 pages for a detailed account of the history of the Mass. Many things are inevitably omitted (nothing is said e.g. of the correct punctuation of the Domine Sancte of the Preface), many points are not more than touched on. It is nevertheless the most up-to-date guide in English to this exceedingly complicated story. The author is obviously greatly indebted to Dom Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy* but he is able to bring here the necessary corrections from a Catholic point of view. The book has one very serious defect—the index is so abbreviated as to be almost useless. All the references, for instance, to the component parts of the office are given 'see Divine Office' under which heading all the references are lumped together; the very important section on the Pater noster as a consecratory prayer is not given under the heading 'Pater noster'; and so forth. The bulk of the book deals with the Mass. The Divine Office and Liturgical Year are dealt with very briefly. A more liberal use of references in the text would be helpful and the paragraph headings seem oddly arranged from time to time. There are occasional mis-statements (e.g. p. 65, neither *Benedictus* nor *Gloria* was 'a constant feature of the Mass' in the East; p. 8, the synagogue service was not on Tuesdays but on Mondays). It remains a book of great interest—one would like to see a new (revised) edition.

Dr McArthur's study of the structure of the liturgical year is a well-documented study by a Scottish Presbyterian. The book is a remarkable testimony to the growing interest in things liturgical in the reformed tradition. He seeks to establish the importance of Sunday in the primitive calendar and proposes to the members of his Church a calendar based on the conclusions of his study. An Advent of six Sundays, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima to form part of the season after Epiphany, Trinity Sunday to be excluded from the liturgical year, the Sundays to be named 'after Pentecost', Epiphany to be the feast of the Baptism of our

Lord, etc. He remains well within the reformed tradition—witness the following paragraph, 'It is understandable that with the emergence of festivals and special services on days other than Sunday, these should be regarded as proper occasions for the full Eucharistic worship of the Church. But it was another matter to set weekdays as such beside Sunday as days for celebrating the Holy Communion. This served to obscure the uniqueness of Sunday and may have affected the understanding of the Sacrament, for it weakened the connection between the Resurrection, the Lord's Day and the Eucharist. Thus, the validity of the development of daily celebration may be questioned' (p. 29).

Dr Yelverton's edition of *The Manual of Olavus Petri* presents an English translation of the vernacular edition of certain occasional offices (Baptism, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick with Anointing, Burial, etc.) made by the Swedish reformer in 1529. Dr Yelverton provides a commentary and historical introduction. The volume is published by the S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. There is an odd phrase on p. 128, 'In his 1531 Swedish Mass, Olavus Petri, following the medieval custom, included the Lord's Prayer as part of the consecration'.

E.M.J.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

- S.P.C.K. : *Origen's Doctrine of Tradition*, R. P. C. Hanson.  
 Sheed and Ward : *Poets and Mystics*, E. I. Watkin; *The Church and Infallibility*, B. C. Butler.  
 Church Information Board : *The Churches of Europe under Communist Governments*.  
 Aubier, Paris : *La Grande Controverse*, Vladimir Soloviev.  
 Les Éditions du Cerf : *Les Voies de L'Unité Chrétienne*, C.-J. Dumont, O.P.  
 Cairo : *La Mediazione di Maria nella Chiesa Egiziana*, Gabriele Giamberardini, O.F.M.  
 Harissa, Lebanon : *Les Grecs Melkites en Islam*, Tome I, H. Zayat.  
 Faber and Faber : *The Development of the Papacy*, H. Burn-Murdoch.  
 Blackfriars Publications : *Hugh Pope*, Kieran Mulvey, O.P.

### REVIEWS

- Ora et Labora*, 1, 1954 : *Monasterio de Singeverga*.  
*Istina*, 1, 1954 : *Boulogne-sur-Seine*.



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